material is scattered through endless pages and columns of books, periodicals, pamphlets, circulars—in English, French, German, Swedish, Bohemian—a unique literature which coming writers and thinkers will study with wonder and amusement. But the Communists are too shrewd to codify this enormous mass of fragments into a comprehensive, harmonious and intelligible whole. They are eloquent and destructive, but secretive and Jesuitical.

Sifting out of the rubbish a few plain facts, let us see what they amount to, and whither they lead.

I.

The year 1862 marks the beginning of an era. The International Exhibition in London attracted deputations of French artisans, whose inflammable minds were speedily fired by the magnificent projects of their English and German brethren, who had filled the public eye for the preceding three years. Their visit led to the establishment of the vast and powerful organization now known as "the International"—of which Mr. B. Cochrane, M. P., said, in his place in Parliament, on the 11th of April, 1872, that "its creed was infamous" and "its objects atrocious," but that it counted at that moment 180,000 members in Great Britain alone (Parliamentary report, April, 1872); and of which, also, Mr. Elliott C. Cowdin, a distinguished merchant of New-York, said in his address on "France in 1870-71," delivered at Cooper Institute on the evening of the 10th of February, 1872, that "every kind of absurdity and atrocity found utterance at the gatherings of the affiliated clubs;" but that the International numbered, over the whole extent of Europe, not less than 2,500,000 members. Bear in mind that these were the figures, given by careful observers in England and America, *of five years ago*. The growth of the Order since has not been backward.

A temporary check was interposed by circumstances beyond Communist control. But it proved to be only temporary. The Polish insurrection broke out; Paris was excited; thousands of French workmen presented addresses of sympathy to Prince Czartoryski and the "National Government" of Poland; money was collected in the Paris workshops to aid the Poles; meetings were held in London at which Poles attended; and at a great Polish meeting held at St. James Hall, in London, on the 22d of July, 1863, a deputation from Paris came forward to ask the coöperation of the workingmen of England to liberate Poland. Revolt had taken form; and the International Society for the first time revealed its "international" character in a way that could not be misunderstood. The leaven had not been working in vain. It was impossible to refuse sympathy to a down-trodden people. It was easy to say kindly words. If nothing came of them, the intent was apparently good, and that was something. The words were said, and the movement attracted public attention, and won no small degree of public regard. The inchoate International had scored a point.

II.

Out of this demonstration grew a new movement. Before the night was over, the French deputation was invited to a conference. A few days afterward, George Odger, instructed by a committee, drew up an address to the workmen of France, which may be read in the London papers of August, 1863, setting forth the statement that the time was ripe for a combination of labor against capital. "Let there be a gathering together of representatives from France, Italy, Germany, Poland, and all countries where there exists a will to coöperate for the good of mankind"—so ran this remarkable document—"let us *have our Congresses;* let us discuss the great question on which the peace of nations depends; let us bring our reason and moral right to bear with becoming dignity against the cajolery and brute force of the so-called rulers."

This was the first pronounced echo of Karl Marx's fulmination of November, 1847—"the aim of the Communists is the overthrow of the capitalists by the acquisition of political power." The interval of sixteen years had been skillfully utilized in operating upon the prejudices of the working classes.

III.

From this point onward, rapid progress was made. The train had been fired. The years 1863 and 1864 were periods of excitement and alarm. The Trade Unions in England and on the Continent, already affiliated more or less openly with the Internationalists, or Communists, increased rapidly in numbers and in strength. They had their newspaper organs; they had their fine yearly crops of demagogues, fluent of tongue and unscrupulous in method; they found weak-kneed legislators to plead their cause, and ambitious politicians to mount to power by the aid of their brawny shoulders. It was a formative period—a sort of evolution, with the difference from the Darwinian theory that it was a development backward toward barbarism. Nevertheless, the work went on.

IV.

The power suddenly developed abroad necessarily led to the consideration of another question, vital to the perpetuity of the new system. Across the sea there lay a vast country, just emerged from a great war which had tried all its resources to the uttermost, but stronger from the trials it had endured and the victory it had won—as gold is purer after the fire that purges it of dross, or the athlete hardier after sharp training. Obviously, here was a field to be worked. The laborers ready to enter it were neither few nor timid. They had devoted themselves to a purpose, and that purpose they were resolved to accomplish—no matter at what cost of energy, skill, resource, chicanery, cajolery, riot, bloodshed, robbery, murder (witness Pittsburg, the Erie Railway, Baltimore, the Pennsylvania Road, New-York City, in July, 1877—of which more presently).

V.

When Samson saw the standing corn, he caught his foxes, tied them in couples with a firebrand between their tails, and sent them to destroy law and order among the Philistines. It is not in the least degree probable that Communists ever read their Bibles—if, indeed, they possess them—but they practised Samson's tactics. Looking at us over the vast expanse of the Atlantic, they saw here a great and populous and prosperous Nation, which had fought out its long fight with murderous savages, tricky politicians, the pains of adolescence, the curse of slavery, the rebellion of the South, the war of tariffs and currencies and policies, and, near the end of its first century, had taken rank among the great Powers of the world—full of vitality, wealth, energy. It had, in turn, inspired the Old World with feelings of indifference, contempt, curiosity, anxiety, anger, sympathy, fear, envy, malice and all uncharitableness; but it had gone steadily forward, rarely faltering, never dismayed, never beaten. Its tribulations had made it great; it had its rich, it had its poor. The rich controlled its factories, its mines, its railways, its warehouses. Its poor served its rich—for a stipulated stipend. They were not, never could be, rich. Ergo, they were discontented. Why not enlarge the scope of the International Society—that is, Communism—by working shrewdly upon the passions and prejudices of this great class?

It was too good an opportunity to be lost. It was not lost. The desired end was accomplished in the neatest manner possible. It was really a work of high art. Let us trace its processes.

VI.

The Internationalists, feeling that they were strong enough to make a decided move, opened their first "Congress" in Geneva, Switzerland, on the 3d of September, 1866—a little more than three years after it had made its first "hit" in London. In the interval *many Trade Unions had joined the International.* (*North American Review*, Art.: "The International Association," April, 1872; and London, Paris and New-York papers of September and October, 1866.) But only seven delegates from England appeared, and none from America. The French societies sent seventeen; the Swiss thirty-six. Odger was prominent among the English delegates. The proceedings, on the whole, were creditable. The subjects discussed—and with a considerable degree of intelligence, too—were the statistics of wages, the reduction of the hours of labor, and coöperation. Nothing was said of agrarianism, proletarianism, Socialism, Communism, the wickedness of the rich, or the horrors of civilized government. The time was not quite ripe—it was eleven years ago, and some crops ripen slowly! But secret agencies were put at work. The eyes of the far-seeing leaders were fixed upon this country; they determined to stalk our workingmen, as hunters stalk a deer; following closely, watching the wind, but bent upon bringing him down at last. The result proves what good huntsmen they were. They have bagged their game—and the wonder of it is that the game does not know it has been bagged. This makes the business more interesting than ever. It becomes a curious study.

VII.

The year after the meeting of the first International Congress in Geneva—that is, in 1867—two "Sections" of the International Society were established in the United States, and the General Council of the International acknowledged them as auxiliaries.

This was the entering wedge.

There was no Trade Union affiliation, as such, with the International at this time. Far from it. The International was too well trained to show its hand so early in the game. Slow approaches, wariness, specious pretences, appeals to the gullibility of human nature, were the first maneuvres—parallels, so to speak, zig-zagging up toward the bastions that were to be captured. A *coup de main* would have been a failure—and the Internationalists knew it. They preferred to dig, sap and mine; and they performed all these processes to such purpose that we are forced to stop and ponder how the explosion shall be prevented.

But let us follow the thread of the narrative and the argument.

On the 19th of August, 1867, the American societies affiliated with the Internationalists held a "Congress" in Chicago. In this Congress—the first one held in this country—the supremacy of the foreign International Society was fully recognized, and absolute credence was given to the theories and plans put forth by the parent body. (*Vide* the Chicago and New-York journals of August and September, 1867.) The formation of "Sections," or auxiliaries to the foreign International Society, went on steadily after this date, until, in September, 1871, the New-York correspondent of *The Cologne Gazette* was able to announce exultingly, in one of his letters to that journal, that although the International had "only lately obtained a foothold in the States," it had "a powerful organization in several parts of the country;" and then proceeded to give the following list of the American "Sections," ten in number, which were at that time in direct and acknowledged affiliation with the parent body, viz:

1. German Workingmen's Society, New-York.
2. French Section, No. 1, New-York.
3. Czechian Workingmen's Society, New-York.
4. Social Political Workingmen's Society, No. 1, Chicago.
5. Social Political Workingmen's Society, No. 2, Chicago.
6. Social Democratic Workingmen's Society, New-York.
7. Irish Section of the Irish Workingmen's Association, New-York.
8. Social Democratic Society, Williamsburg, N. Y.
9. American Section of the Workingmen's Association, New-York.
10. French Section, No. 2, of the Workingmen's Association, New-York.

It will be observed that New-York City and Chicago were the centres of these early movements; and also that the French and German elements in this country came uppermost in this business, six years ago. This latter fact illustrates the power that foreign demagogues can exert when they are so minded. *The Cologne Gazette's* list was copied into the English papers, and so found its way back to New-York, creating great joy among the Communists, who had quietly occupied the interval from the end of 1867 to the beginning of 1871 in shrewd preparation of our workingmen's minds to receive their new Gospel of Labor. Thenceforth the mask was thrown off, and the aims and purposes of the International were not only openly avowed, but it was also given out that it intended to assume control of American politics through the organization of a Workingmen's party, the fundamental doctrines of which should be those set forth by the Geneva Congress of 1867.

A few weeks later (December 21, 1871), one of the leaders of the International Society in the City of New-York published in one of our morning journals a bold and ingenious defence of that organization, together with a statement of the alleged grievances of which its members complained. The "tyranny of capital" and the evils produced by great monopolies were dwelt upon with peculiar emphasis; and although the writer was unskilled in the rules of logic or the forms of graceful rhetoric, his impassioned plea attracted the attention of the public and provoked sharp comment by the press.

Manifestly, the International had begun to see its way in America in 1871.

VIII.

The Summer of 1871 brought the Trade-Unionists to the front, in the attitude of politicians. In July, a call was issued for a "Labor Congress," to be held in St. Louis on the 7th of August following. Ostensibly, the object of this gathering was the discussion of the laws which should govern Trade organizations, and the definition of the true relations between the employer and the employed. In reality, it was intended to establish the new programme of general opposition to organized government. Ambitious leaders appeared at St. Louis on the appointed day. They sounded the depths and the shallows of the delegates who represented the Trade Unions—delegates who were in the main honest and simple-minded men, anxious only to do the best they could do for their own protection, and not in the slightest degree sympathizers with Communism. Let them have that credit. The leaders found the time was not quite ripe. Large bodies move slowly, and honest men are not transformed into rogues in a day. The leaders, recognizing these facts, determined to adjourn the meeting until a more fitting time; but before doing so they introduced the draft of a "platform," the main points of which were these: First, a demand for the expansion of the paper currency; second, the abolition of the gold basis; third, the destruction of the National Banks; fourth, the establishment of an eight-hour system; fifth, the exclusion of Chinese labor. The delegates listened to all this, dazed. They offered no objections. They were in the hands of skillful manipulators. The document was put forth, apparently as the expression of the sentiments of the St. Louis Trade Congress. Trade-Unionism had taken its first step in politics, and the International had scored another point.

Scored a point—how? Let the records tell.

No sooner had the adjourned "Congress" opened its next session—held in Columbus, Ohio, in February, 1872—than one Kilgore was admitted with the Pennsylvania delegation as the representative of "Section 26" of the International Society. This was a direct, open, unmistakable evidence of practical affiliation. It fixes an important date.

The political platform, revised and enlarged, was then brought forward, discussed and adopted. It was very skillfully drawn; in fact, considering the antecedent circumstances which led to its production, it is still entitled to rank as a curiosity of political literature. It set out with the recitation of principles now commonly accepted—namely, the necessity of revenue reform, tax reduction, general amnesty, and equality of rights—and after enunciating these doctrines with no inconsiderable degree of force, glided into such fallacies as a demand for the legislative prohibition of Chinese labor, and a centralization of power in the Federal Government, with restrictions upon private enterprise in the construction and operation of railroads, telegraph lines, and the like. The platform, as a whole, was not sound; the leaders were injudicious; the official recognition of the Communist element was a dangerous precedent—but the Workingmen's party had openly taken its place as a political factor, and it had called the International to its aid.

The next step taken was still bolder.

IX.

In September of the same year (1872) a "Congress" of the Internationalists was held at The Hague. It was in every way a remarkable gathering. At the opening of the session, two antagonistic parties pitted themselves against each other: and, at the opening of the session, also, delegates from New-York presented their credentials, and were admitted to seats. Among these delegates were William West, an old Socialist and Trade-Unionist, who has recently made himself conspicuous as a stirrer-up of disorder in this city; Osborn Ward, an American agitator, who, previous to the Franco-Prussian war, visited most of the coöperative societies in the different countries of Europe, engineering the projects of the International; and Edouard David, a Frenchman, who afterward published in *Le Socialiste*, of New-York, an explanation of his reasons for rejecting some of the conclusions at which the Hague Congress arrived. A trial of strength between the "Federalist" delegates, *who opposed a political organization*, and the "Centralizing General Council," led by Karl Marx, ended in the utter defeat of the former. Karl Marx was a good organizer and a masterful leader. He succeeded in driving out of the Congress the French party of Blanqui, and the moderate party of the English, the Swiss and the Belgians; and the net result of an angry conference was the lodgment of all the effective power of the organization in the hands of the extreme German Centralists. This point gained, and all the moderates being worsted, it became an interesting question where and how the reconstructed General Council could best continue the work so elaborately planned and so persistently carried forward. England had shown the cold shoulder; France was entirely out of the question; neither at Leipzig nor at Berlin would the International be permitted to sit. It was resolved to establish headquarters in the City of New-York. (See the *Indépendance Belge*, *London Times*, *London Spectator*, and cable dispatches to the New York papers of September, 1872.) "We do not at all grudge Dr. Karl Marx to New-York," said *The London Spectator* of September 14; "on the contrary, we think London can well spare him." Karl Marx's acceptance of the responsibility placed upon his shoulders appeared in *The London Times* in January, 1873, under his own signature; and the last clause of his letter, written in reply to some protest issued by the French malcontents, established the fact that the centre of operations had been formally transferred to New-York. "If in France individuals have been expelled from the International," wrote Marx "it has been by the local Sections, and not at all by the New-York General Council." (Letter of January 2, 1873, in *The London Times*.)

The close of the year 1872, therefore, witnessed the transfer of Internationalist headquarters from London to New-York. This completes another link in the chain of evidence.

X.

The transfer was not regarded with favor by the American people nor the American press. Sagacious observers of affairs knew it portended evil. Many of our public journals pointed out that the purpose of the change was to employ the machinery of a mischievous organization to create discord between capital and labor in the United States, to stir up our industrial class to deeds of violence, to war upon society, and to attempt, by underhanded methods, to achieve in this country the ends it was unable to compass in Europe. Proof was soon at hand that the Internationalists had begun to busy themselves with the workingmen. In January, 1873, labor agitations broke out in New-Orleans. On the 2d of February, a letter written by one John Little, of that city, was openly read at a regular Sunday session of the International Society in New-York, in which it was stated that the workingmen of New-Orleans were "fast getting to that state of desperation" when a change in their condition must be made: that "the manner in which it is to be changed will be no object to them"; that a letter had been sent to the Chief of the Fire Department of New-Orleans, notifying him that the city would be "laid in ashes" on the 15th of January, and that in consequence of this warning guards had been placed in charge of the fire apparatus, and the police patrol had been doubled. "The capitalists are in dread," was the cheerful comment added by Mr. Little in his epistle addressed to "Citizen Hubert, Corresponding Secretary of the International Society," in New-York. The Communists had begun their work betimes. They came here to inflame the minds of the working classes, and they did their work so thoroughly that the events of 1877 are no longer wonderful nor inexplicable when studied by the light of history. New-Orleans was not burned in 1873, nor New-York sacked in 1877; but neither city owed its safety to the Internationalists.

XI.

While the plotters who figured at The Hague had been engaged in preparing their well-devised programme of future operations, their agents here had helped to widen the breach between Labor and Capital, and the Great Strike of May-June, 1872, was the result. Forty thousand men "went out" in the middle of May. Every manufacturing interest in this city was paralyzed. The middle of June came; and then the employers, forced to take action in self-defence, banded themselves together under a mutual pledge that they would not thereafter "retain in their employ any workman guilty of an act looking to the arbitrary establishment of relations between employer and employed." Three hundred employers, driven to extremity by the embarrassments and losses caused by the strike, united in declaring this ultimatum. It was published in the newspapers of the day (June, 1872) with an imposing array of signatures, and it gave the death-blow to the organized movement of the workingmen. The latter had been led to believe that they were all-powerful. They stood out for four weeks, and their losses in wages—at the rates then current—were not less than $1,500,000. The determined attitude of the employing class, convinced the strikers that nothing was to be gained by holding out longer, living upon the charity of their Trade Unions, and hearing their children cry for bread. Little by little, they fell back into their old ways, and the strike ended peaceably.

But this episode had a deeper meaning—not thoroughly understood by casual observers of events. Its inner history bore a close relation to the secret movements of the International Society, and some of the unguarded expressions used by indiscreet and hot-headed leaders of the strike, revealed the teachings of the Communists, and curiously echoed the utterances of 1847 and 1869—already cited in the present paper. The chain becomes more complete when the stray rivets are found and fitted into the places made for them. For example:

At a mass-meeting of workingmen held in Masonic Hall in New-York, on Saturday evening, May 18, 1872, at which, according to a statement made by the chairman, the interests of 6,000 carpenters and joiners were represented, one McDonagh declared that the men would demand the general adoption of the eight-hour system, "if it caused a revolution or the reënacting of the days of the Paris Commune and all its horrors." Another prominent speaker named Monroe, bade the strikers remember that "they had the employers on their knees, and there they would keep them till they came to terms." A third orator, Charles Dowling, said that if the strikers did not succeed, "violence and bloodshed would be resorted to, and those opposing and working against the society would be beheaded; they were a determined body, and meant business." These remarks were vigorously applauded. The full reports of the proceedings of this meeting will be found in the New-York morning papers of the following day. The inflammatory addresses were at the time attributed, not unnaturally, to the excitement of the strike and the over-zealous efforts of the Trade Union leaders to keep their men in line, and well up to the work in hand. Looking back to this period, in the light afforded by subsequent revelations and events, and comparing the European fulminations of 1847 and 1869 with the American fulminations of the Spring of 1872, a strong family likeness becomes startlingly apparent, and that which was at first supposed to be the violent language of unskilled speakers becomes, by parity of reasoning, but as the calm recitation of a lesson well conned. The International had been a patient and skillful teacher.

The Great Strike of 1872 ended in the total defeat of the strikers. But the snake was scotched, not killed. Sullen discontent took the place of bravado. Labor had combined formidably against capital, and it had failed, because capital had formed a stronger combination. The employing class did not improve their victory altogether wisely; the laboring class still had its grievances and still bore its burdens. What wonder that the Internationalists in conference at The Hague saw their way clearly to the establishment of general headquarters in New-York, where a great discontented body of 40,000 workingmen were smarting under failure and defeat? The histories of these two events lock.

XII.

The stirring time of 1872 was followed by another season of quiet preparation. A bold experiment had been made. It had failed. It was necessary to try a new deal. The Winter of 1872-'73 was unmarked by any notable demonstration of labor agitation or Internationalist scheming; but early in the Spring of 1873 there were significant indications that the interval of apparent repose had been skillfully utilized by the uneasy plotters. In March and April of that year, outgivings came from Washington to the effect that the leaders of the Trade Unions had held secret conferences, and that some new movement was contemplated. Early in the following May the story came out. The secret conferences had resulted in the formation of a body entitled "The United Workingmen of America," which first announced its existence by the publication of a programme setting forth the details of a system of National and local organization for the purpose of guarding the interests of labor. The new organization declared its purpose to be the elevation of the American workingman, intellectually, morally, materially and socially, and to secure consideration and justice in legislation. In other words, a new party had challenged public attention—the Party of Labor, without a political platform, certainly, but hopeful of an increase of strength by the speciousness of its appeals to the personal interests of a great class.

It soon became apparent how the new organization intended to begin its work. During the Spring of 1873 the eight-hour movement had been revived in New-York and elsewhere, and the Internationalist delegates had again appeared at the meetings of the trades. But no decided steps had been taken up to the time of the issue of the Washington manifesto. It remained for the new party to assume the leadership. The ferment had been carefully nursed, in preparation for a general and concerted demonstration when the time should have become ripe for it. In the Spring and early Summer of 1873, the eight-hour agitation was continued from month to month with varying degrees of success: but the new party did not show its hand boldly until July, when an "Industrial Congress" was held in Cleveland, Ohio, which was composed of seventy delegates from Trade Unions, *representing twelve States*. The presiding officer announced that it was the purpose of this body to form a new political party. The declaration was a bold one, but it was made shrewdly as well as boldly—for the counsel given to the great body of the Trade-Unionists of the United States was moderate, and even dignified. The workingmen were advised to adopt a general system of arbitration for the settlement of difficulties between employers and employed; and the principle of coöperation was earnestly commended to their attention. The discussions of the Congress were conducted, decorously; its wise counsel was spread broadcast; the popular belief was that the Trade-Unionists had shown signs of returning sense. Lulled into security by the fair exhibit, the great mass of our people thought the International was dead and the Trade Union fangless. The scenes of July, 1877, were needed to dispel this dangerous delusion.

XIII.

The Fall of 1873 and the Winter of 1873-'74 brought out new and alarming developments.

The Communists had been busy. They had determined their line of operation, and meant to follow it, and while men slept they had diligently sown tares. Gathering courage from immunity, their leaders, in January, 1874, thought the hour had come to throw off the mask and to display their strength. Out of this thought grew the famous mass-meeting held at the Cooper Institute on Friday night, January 30, 1874—a meeting ostensibly called to utter a public protest against the suppression of an incipient riot at Tompkins-square, in which act of suppression, as all honest men now know, the municipal authorities acted wisely as well as promptly. At this mass-meeting, the principal speech in the English tongue was delivered by Mr. John Swinton. His companions on the rostrum were chiefly French and German—all of them pronounced Communists. To this company, claiming to be workingmen, came Mr. Swinton, charged with a speech which was one of the most extraordinary recorded in the annals of oratory. Given with calm deliberation; manifestly prepared with unusual care by an acute, logical and comprehensive mind; adorned with illustrations exactly calculated to fire the inflammable element to which it was addressed; appealing with nervous eloquence to the passions of an excited multitude that bowed instinctively under the magnetic influence of a superior mind—was it wonderful that Mr. John Swinton's harangue stirred that Communist gathering to the pitch of frenzy; or that he was offered (and accepted) the "Workingmen's" nomination for the office of Mayor of the city; or that, three years later, he became a recognized leader of the Commune when Communism rose against law and order? Not at all. It was as natural as that water should run down-hill. Mr. Swinton openly affiliated with Justus Schwab by marching in public procession with him in 1874, and again by appearing on the same platform with him at the Tompkins-square meeting in 1877. The interval between these two appearances was two-and-half years. Mark how this considerable interval of time was occupied by the leaders of the Communists, and the effects produced by their machinations.

The disastrous consequences of the panic of September, 1873, had given the Communists a strong hold upon the minds of the laboring classes. That hold they were determined to retain. Insidious appeals to the passions of the multitude were constantly put forth through the columns of the so-called Labor journals, in public meetings (avowedly Communist), in circulars and pamphlets—and, unfortunately, too often in the editorial columns of widely circulated daily newspapers. The great unthinking mass of our workingmen, suddenly thrown out of employment by the suspension of factories and the stoppage of large business houses, saw their families drifting into want, and they turned a willing ear to the smooth-tongued varlets who sought to convince them that property was robbery, and capital tyranny. It is needless to recapitulate here the processes through which this poison was instilled into the workingmen's minds. The records of 1874-'5-'6-'7 are familiar to the general reader. It is, however, but common justice to add that a large proportion of the members enrolled in the older Trade Unions resisted the effort to change the character of those bodies. The American Trade-Unionist had borrowed his plan from Europe, it is true; but had borrowed it before the Internationalists had become a vital force—before Communism had raised its head—before the red flag had been declared "the symbol of universal human love." Mistaken as our Trade Unions were and are in many of their theories, nothing was further from the thoughts of their founders than open revolt against constituted authority or ambitious striving for the attainment of political power. Had the native-born Trade-Unionists been let alone, they would probably have been content with the self-protective, coöperative and benevolent features of their system, and willing to compose such differences as might have arisen between themselves and their employers on a fair basis of arbitration and compromise. But now the Moderates have been swept aside, and the Radicals are stepping forward, with no regard for the protests of a helpless minority. It is time to appreciate this fact at its full value.

XIV.

The events of July, 1877, were but the natural outcome of the heresies assiduously preached by the foreign leaders who falsely claimed to be workingmen and the friends of the workingman. Idleness, poverty, distress, distorted notions of the relations of labor and capital, ill-regulated passions, lack of thought, had been skilfully turned to account by the unscrupulous Internationalists in order to debauch the workingmen and to twist the Trade Union organization into a dangerous weapon of offence. How successfully this work was accomplished, the appalling scenes of the Summer of 1877 demonstrated only too clearly.

The suddenness and completeness of the catastrophe showed the care with which the mine had been laid. In an incredibly short space of time after the first outbreak at Martinsburg, the great strike had extended to Baltimore, thence to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New-York, and half a dozen other States; the trunk railway lines were blocked; travel and trade were stopped; troops were called out by Federal and State authority; 15,000 Trade-Unionists were banded together to defy the law; blood was shed; property valued at millions of dollars was wantonly destroyed; perishable goods in transit were irretrievably lost; the great cities were profoundly agitated, and, but for the prompt action of the State and local authorities and the brave bearing of our citizen soldiery, would have been panic-stricken, through justifiable apprehension of a renewal of the mob violence of July, 1863. If any proof had been needed to establish the complicity of the Communists in the plot, it was given in ample measure by the "Internationalists" themselves. The strike had hardly gained headway before the chiefs of the International "Sections" opened communications with the Trade Unions enlisted in the conspiracy. "Secretary" Goldsmith, in Hartford; Van Patten and Schilling, in Chicago; Curlin, Curtis, Cardell, Ratz, Porter, Cope and Sykora, in St. Louis; Schwab, Swinton, Doyle, Kaiser, Thompson, Demorest and others, in New-York, put forth continuous efforts to encourage the strikers, and to arouse the sympathy of the whole class of workingmen. Out of this grew the Tompkins-square meeting of July 25, which was wisely permitted to take place, and which, quite as wisely, was kept in restraint by 8,000 National Guardsmen on duty in their armories, and 1,000 policemen on duty in and around the square. The strong arm of the law was potent to avert scenes of violence. It did not exercise its potency to prevent free speech—nor should it have done so. Hence the bold appeal made to the President of the United States, as the embodiment of the unanimous sentiment of the meeting; and hence, also, the "declaration" published by the Communists on the following day.

The "declaration" recited (1) that the "Workingmen's Party of the City and County of New-York" tendered its heartfelt sympathies to the railroad men then on strike in different localities in the country; (2) that it considered all legalized charter corporations the enemies of the working class; (3) that the chartered companies were responsible for acts of violence provoked by oppression; (4) "that we do earnestly request and advise all the working classes throughout the country to unite as speedily as possible *for the purpose of forming a political party, based on the natural rights of Labor*," and "that nothing short of a political revolution, through the ballot-box, on the part of the working classes, will remedy the evils under which they suffer;" and, still further, "that it is the purpose of the Workingmen's Party to confiscate, through legislation, the unjustly gotten wealth of these legalized and chartered corporation thieves that are backed by the Shylocks and moneyed syndicates of Europe and this country."

This looked like rhodomontade. It was regarded at the time, by the great mass of our people, as only a fresh spurt by crazy fanatics. The press gave very little attention to it. The mob had been quelled; what matter? So men went about their business again; order was restored; the wheels of trade revolved; and the thrifty American concluded that the storm had blown over, and that all he had to do was to attend to his own affairs in his own way. Lulled into this false security, all but a very few of our people left the Communist free to do as he pleased—provided only that he should not again rise in insurrection.

Among the few observant thinkers who, reasoning logically from cause to effect, found reason to apprehend future evil consequences from the outbreak, one of the earliest to sound a note of warning was the Hon. William M. Grosvenor, who wrote in *The International Review* (October-November, 1877): "By the light of the flames at Pittsburg we may see approaching a terrible trial for free institutions in this country. The Communist is here." Enforcing this statement by a formidable array of evidence, as well as by inferences based upon solid conclusions, Mr. Grosvenor sought to arouse the public mind to a sense of impending danger. He linked the Western Granger with the Communist, and argued that the panic of 1873 was the immediate effect of Granger legislation, and that it was "greatly extended, prolonged, and intensified by the Communistic war upon capital at the West." He also contended that our local governments, "as now constituted, are utterly incompetent to deal with the spirit of Communism"—a statement which may well be questioned, in view of the summary measures adopted in New-York and Pennsylvania to put down the riots of last year. But let that pass. It is not likely that the scenes of Pittsburg will be repeated very soon. The Communist has determined to go into politics. He has found that mobs can be put down here more speedily than in Paris—and he has also discovered that the ballot is more potent than the bullet in getting the control of American institutions. Here lies the real peril. It is full time for the American people to recognize its existence.

XV.

At Newark, N. J., in the last week of December, 1877, a body of delegates assembled who called themselves a "Congress of the Workingmen's Party of the United States." Eighty-four "Sections" were represented, and it was claimed that the aggregate membership of the Sections amounted to 12,000 or 15,000. Probably the numbers were not exaggerated. The avowed purpose of the gathering was the preliminary organization of a new political party; the notorious Justus Schwab put in an appearance very early in the session, and was accepted as the leader; and on the 29th of December, in open meeting, the Congress unanimously voted to change its title from "The Workingmen's Party" to that of the "Socialistic Labor Party." Here was a starting-point from which a new era dates.

The Newark Congress will become historical. It is therefore proper to put its "platform" on record, for purposes of future reference. Briefly stated, the points of that remarkable document are these:

1. Introduction of a legal work day of not more than eight hours, and strict punishment of all violations.
2. Sanitary inspection of all conditions of labor, means of subsistence and dwellings.
3. The establishment of bureaus of labor statistics in all States, as well as by the National Government. The officers of those bureaus shall be elected by the people.
4. Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age in any industrial establishment.
5. Prohibition of the use of prison labor by private employers.
6. Compulsory education for all children under fourteen years of age, all educational facilities to be furnished free.
7. Strict laws making all employers responsible for injury to employés resulting from negligence of employers.
8. Strict laws requiring all wages to be paid in the lawful money of the country at intervals not exceeding one week.
9. Abolishment of all compulsory laws tending to prevent combinations of workingmen to strike or induce others to strike.
10. Gratuitous administration of justice in all courts of law.
11. Abolishment of all indirect taxation, and adoption of a graded income tax.
12. All banking and insurance to be conducted by the National Government.
13. Strict prohibition of any laws limiting the right of male suffrage.
14. Introduction of direct popular legislation; the people to have the right to adopt or reject all proposed laws
15. A system of minority representation to be adopted as soon as possible.
16. The Senate to be abolished in all Legislatures and the National Congress.
17. All public officers to be subject to prompt recall by a direct vote of the people.
18. Prohibition of female labor in occupations injurious to health and morals; the wages of women to be equal to those of men where the same labor is performed.

Sections 1, 9, 10, 12, 13 and 14 of this platform are shrewdly offset by other declarations which would be generally accepted—and workingmen will be asked to swallow the offensive six together with all the rest. The Communist is a cross between Machiavelli and Ignatius Loyola.

Men have scoffed at the theory that a political party can be organized out of the chaotic material furnished by the Trade Unions. Nevertheless, it has been proved (1) that the International Society has ambitious political projects in view; (2) that it is in close affiliation with the Trade Unions; (3) that today it virtually governs the whole Trade Union system of this country; (4) that attempts have been made to exhibit the strength of the so-called Workingmen's (or Communist) party at the polls, and (5) that a respectable exhibit of votes in Ohio and in New-York at the elections in November, 1877, and again in the Spring elections of the present year in the same States, when they showed increased strength, gives palpable evidence that that party is not a myth, but, on the contrary, is constantly growing.

The Trade Union is the agency which the Communists intend to employ to compass the ends indicated in the Newark platform; and they will employ it.

XVI.

The facts that have been cited show:

1. That the process of affiliation between Trade-Unionism and Communism is no chimera.
2. That the inflexible purpose of the International Society is "to overthrow the rule of capital by the acquisition of political power."
3. That the failure of the Communists in Europe led them to occupy the new field temptingly opened to them in the United States.
4. That the doctrines of the International Society, boldly enunciated by Karl Marx in 1847, have been emphatically reaffirmed here in 1877, and put in practice by the conjoint efforts of Communists and Trade-Unionists.
5. That the vast army of coopers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, printers, carpenters, masons, plumbers, and other skilled mechanics, defeated again and again in their efforts to coerce the employing class, are now met by counter-combinations which refuse (as THE TRIBUNE did last Summer, and as the Lynn manufacturers are doing to-day) to employ Trade-Unionists on any terms.
6. That the Trade-Unionist, loth to lose the power he once enjoyed, hopes by his affiliation with the Communist to establish a new order of things upon the ruins of American institutions.

It follows that, if the Nation is to be efficiently guarded against an imminent peril, the Trade Union must be shorn of the powers it has assumed to exercise. To break the Trade Union is to destroy the fulcrum the Communist is using. The Trade Union, which places good and bad workmen on the same footing, which pursues its course relentlessly until every industry is in turn subjected to paralysis and loss, which so weakens the apprenticeship system by absurd regulations that the coming generation of operatives will be unable to hold their own against foreign competition, and which learns nothing from disaster, is precisely the instrument for the purpose the Internationalists came here to accomplish. If it be true—and there are few right-minded men who will question it—that there is no necessary conflict between capital and labor, it ought to be equally true that capital shall not be the slave of labor; yet this is what the Trade Union seeks to make it, while the Internationalist seeks to destroy it altogether. The employer being necessary to the workman, and the workman to the employer, the Communist, with his crazy notions, is not wanted. He nurses the Trade Union, and controls it; and he will continue to shape it to his own ends as long as our employing class give vitality to Trade-Unionism by employing its members and acceding to its preposterous demands.

It is not extravagant to predict that if Trade-Unionism, now identified with American Communism, is permitted still to have its own way, the combined forces of the two affiliated systems will yet produce a serious political complication—perhaps create the chief issue in a Presidential contest, to the exclusion of tariffs, financial problems, or other questions of governmental policy. The signs of the times are full of portents; and the presence of the Communist is one of our present dangers. The Trade Union suppressed, the Communist in America would die the death he deserves to meet—for then he might say with Shylock, "You take my life when you do take the means whereby I live."

AUGUSTUS MAVERICK.

New-York, April, 1878.

IS THIS THE DOOM OF GAS?

THE ELECTRIC LIGHT FOR GENERAL USE.

IMPROVEMENTS BY WHICH IT CAN BE USED IN STREETS AND HOUSES—HOW FORMER DIFFICULTIES HAVE BEEN OVERCOME.

The use of the electric light for illuminating streets and large buildings has been made practicable, it is claimed, through some recent inventions of the electrician, J. B. Fuller, of Brooklyn. Heretofore the use of the electric light for ordinary illuminating purposes has been attended with seemingly unsurmountable difficulties. The cost of electricity supplied by batteries was too great to allow the light to be used in competition with gas, and the batteries were found to be untrustworthy, on account of their inconstancy and tendency to become weak. Much additional expense was made necessary in the construction of the electric lamp. Intricate mechanism, moved by clock-work, kept the carbon points in position as they were being consumed by the electric current. This mechanism was liable to get out of order and required the attention of persons well acquainted with its construction. Another difficulty was encountered in the attempt to divide the electric current so that a number of lights could be supplied by one wire. Where several lights were placed in a series, the failure of any one of them broke the current and put out all the others. The use of the electric light was limited, therefore, to lighthouses and places where one large light of unusual brilliancy was desired.

Mr. Fuller overcame one difficulty in the use of the electric light, several years ago, by inventing a magneto-electric machine, which produced constant currents of electricity at a trifling cost. The machine has been much improved since, so that it can produce currents of any desired power, and can also produce several distinct currents at the same time. It generates electricity by induction, by means of armatures surrounded with coils of wire, which are made to move rapidly past powerful magnets. The currents produced are steady and constant, and the machine has been used successfully with the telegraph. Its employment by the large telegraph companies has been prevented by a difficulty in the purchase of the patent, which is now owned by Mr. Fuller.

An electric lamp, of very simple construction, has also been patented by Mr. Fuller, which costs less than $3 when completed. No clock-work machinery is employed to keep the carbon points in position, and the lamp will burn for hours without being touched. Two strips of carbon, of unequal size, are placed parallel with each other at such a distance apart that the current of electricity will pass between their points and give the best light. They are also placed at an angle with the perpendicular. Against their upper sides rests a strip of glass, which prevents the electricity from flowing between the carbons, except at their points. As the carbons are consumed by the electric current, the glass near the points becomes heated and gradually melts away. While melting, the glass allows the passage through it of some part of the electric current, and increases the radiating surface of the light. The effect of this is to lessen somewhat the intensity of the light, and to increase its volume. The ordinary electric light is so dazzling that it pains the eye. The light produced by one of Mr. Fuller's lamps is softer, but not less brilliant and powerful.

Mr. Fuller has ready to be patented an invention by which the electric current carried over a single wire can be divided into a large number of independent branches, each capable of supplying lamps of different power. The invention is exceedingly simple, but a description of it is withheld for the present by the inventor. About the middle of December last, Mr. Fuller set up one of his electric machines at the machine works of the Brady Manufacturing Company, in Brooklyn, and lighted the building with his electric lamps for several months. Several lights were used, all supplied by a current passing through a single wire. The same machine and electric lamps were in use recently at the branch store of Maltby & Co., at No. 11 Greenwich-ave., and attracted much attention. Mr. Fuller estimates that one of his machines, capable of producing 100 lights of 100 candle power each, which may be placed in a circle of a mile from the machine, can be operated at an expense of thirty pounds of coal an hour to maintain steam power.

ACCIDENT ON THE ELEVATED ROAD.

A double iron crane, used by the New-York Elevated Railroad to raise the girders to their positions, was entirely disabled, in Hanover-square, yesterday The crane was not very strongly built, and an engineer said, a few days ago, that he doubted its strength for the work. In raising the girders at one end of the crane, it was necessary to make the other end fast to keep the crane from tipping. While hoisting one of the spans yesterday, some of the guys being slack, the crane began to sway and then twisted and broke the top of the frame. At the other end, from which swung the girder, the crane bent and allowed the span to fall. A team which was passing at the time barely escaped being crushed. Although there were many persons standing near, none were injured.

A Sunday-school boy, at Maysville, Ky., was asked by the superintendent if his father was a Christian. "Yes, sir," he replied, "but he is not working at it much."

"Can any one in the school tell me why a ship is called she?" asked a teacher in a suburban school, the other day. "Because she is rigged up," answered a smart boy in the back row.